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Town Meeting



Bulletin OF AMERICA'S
TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR
Sponsored by THE READER'S DIGEST

Should We Share the Secret of the Atomic Bomb With Any Other Nation?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

JOSEPH H. BALL

ALEXANDER WILEY

REUBEN C. GUSTAVSON

C. G. SUITS

(See also page 12)

COMING NOVEMBER 8th

Should We Support the Establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine Now?

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TUNE IN EVERY THURSDAY, AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY—8:30 p.m., E.S.T.



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Town Meeting

Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air



George V. Denny, Jr., Moderator

Should We Share the Secret of the Atomic Bomb With Any Other Nation?

Announcer:

The Reader's Digest, America's most widely read magazine, welcomes you to another stirring session of America's Town Meeting—the program that gives you both sides of issues affecting your life and mine. Tonight, here at the Municipal Auditorium in St. Paul, Minnesota, where we are the guests of the Minnesota State Teachers Association and Station WTCN, four authorities argue one of the most puzzling and fateful questions that Americans have ever been called upon to answer.

Now, to open this important session, *The Reader's Digest* brings you the president of Town Hall and founder and moderator of America's Town Meeting, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (Applause.)

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Gracious, this reminds me of San Francisco. Here we are in this great big arena with nearly 10,000

people way out in front of us—just oceans of them. We are delighted to be the guests tonight of the Minnesota State Teachers Association and Station WTCN.

Well, neighbors, what do you think of this astounding fact? Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer, one of the scientists who worked on the atomic bomb, states that it would be possible to destroy 40 million Americans in congested centers over night in one atomic bomb raid. Is this a new weapon or is it a new world?

We are fortunate tonight in having with us two distinguished American scientists, Dr. Reuben G. Gustavson, vice-president of the University of Chicago; and Dr. C. G. Suits, vice-president in charge of research of the General Electric Company, who will tell us more about the nature of this tremendous new power that's been unleashed in our time.

The million dollar question, however, "Should We Share the Secret of the Atomic Bomb With

Other Nations" will have to be answered by the American people through their duly elected representatives, and we have two distinguished members of the United States Senate, the Honorable Joseph H. Ball, Republican of Minnesota, and Alexander Wiley, Republican of Wisconsin, to lead us in this discussion.

Now you know a lot of us reach our conclusions first and dig up reasons later to justify those conclusions. Because this and all questions relating to the use of atomic power involve the future security of all mankind, we suggest that you consider the facts and all the circumstances relating to those facts first, before you come to your conclusions about tonight's question.

For presentation of the facts, we will hear first from our two distinguished scientists and will count on the Senators to carry on most of the argument over the state of affairs in which these facts exist.

It's my privilege to present at this time Dr. Reuben G. Gustavson, vice-president of the University of Chicago. Dr. Gustavson. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Gustavson:

Mr. Denny and fellow citizens. Last July, an atomic bomb was exploded in the desert wastes of New Mexico. That single bomb was equivalent to 20,000 tons of TNT. It was equivalent to 400 freight cars loaded with TNT. That means five freight trains of 80 cars each.

Energy was liberated by an entirely new principle. When TNT

or dynamite or guncotton explodes, a solid occupying a small volume is converted into gases which occupy a large volume. It is the expanding gas which is the explosive force.

People ask, "Is the atomic bomb something like a lightning discharge?" The answer is "No."

A lightning discharge is made up of electricity jumping from one cloud to another or from the clouds to the earth.

Atomic energy is based on the destruction of matter and its transformation into energy. When this happens, the energy liberated is equal to the mass or the weight destroyed multiplied by the square of the velocity of light.

Light travels with a velocity of 186,000 miles per second. The square of that is 35 billion. The intensity of the light when the bomb exploded was something like four and a half times the intensity of the noonday sun. The heat was so intense that sand was vaporized as though it were water. An area of four and a half square miles was entirely destroyed.

Let us look at this in another way. The 5th and 8th Air Forces dropped about a million tons of explosives during the war. That required at least 100,000 missions which means at least 100,000 planes. The equivalent explosive power would be contained in 50 atomic bombs.

It is no wonder our people are frightened. Some of them are saying, "We must keep the bomb a complete secret. We cannot trust any other nation with it."

This is going back to extreme isolationism.

Others are saying, "We must keep all research in this field absolutely under government control. We must investigate this field in secret and keep all our discoveries a secret."

Others are saying, "This makes the United Nations Organization absolutely obsolete. We must start all over again and build a world state."

It is my firm conviction that none of these conclusions is realistic. Let me deal with the first problem of secrecy. Senator Ball will handle the other two.

First, with regard to secrecy, the atomic bomb is based on principles well known to scientists all over the world before the war. One of the best reviews of this subject is to be found in the *Russian Journal of Physical Chemistry*, published before the war.

Professor Behr, for example, of the University of Minnesota, in 1940 separated a microgram of uranium into uranium 235 and 238 using the mass spectrograph. This was a contribution of the first magnitude to the production of the atomic bomb.

We have no secrets as far as principles are concerned. The success of the bomb was due to the close cooperation between so-called pure scientists and industrial technologists in applying well-known principles to a definite end.

The making of the bomb was a problem in applied research. Whatever the future may have in store for us, one thing is clear:

that any nation that has the industrial power and desire can make bombs in two to five years. Germany, during the war, made great strides toward the successful liberation of atomic energy.

A very important factor in our success in developing the bomb was the fact that we were free from bombing raids by the enemy. Had our enemies been able to bomb Oak Ridge, Chicago, and Hanford, the story might have been different. Germany had her heavy water plants continually bombed while ours were never disturbed.

Our success, in other words, was due to great industrial capacity, our freedom from bombing raids, and not in any way to any secret information which we had.

It is now demonstrated that we can liberate atomic energy. Can we use it to turn the wheels of industry, propel our ships, locomotives, and submarines? From the standpoint of pure mechanics, the answer is "Yes." Will it be economically feasible? We leave this to Dr. Suits and his associates.

The new radiations which are now in the control of man offer great opportunities for research and medicine. We have fast and slow neutrons. What is their effect on bacteria? Could they be used for sterilizing sewage? What is the effect on living tissue? What are their affects on cancer, for example?

There is only one answer to all of these questions and that is research and more research. Re-

search can only go forward in a free world, where there is complete interchange of all information. Science is a temple built by the men of all nations and it is only when the men of one country know what the men in other nations are doing that progress in science takes place and that's just as true of atomic energy science as any other science. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Gustavson. Now, for the viewpoint of applied industrial science, we hear from the director of research of one of America's great corporations, Dr. C. G. Suits, vice president of the General Electric Company. Dr. Suits. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Suits:

Lean forward and I will tell you the secret of the atomic bomb. Uranium undergoes a process called fission, splitting into two nearly equal parts, with the release of 200 million electron volts of energy. Neutrons are also released which split other uranium atoms leading to a chain reaction.

The German scientist, Dr. Lise Meitner, probably first appreciated this secret. It was published in 1939 and it is known through all the world. But, only the United States has the factories, as Dr. Gustavson pointed out, for producing atomic bombs, and most important, the technical and engineering know-how. Other nations will develop this know-how in about five years.

My scientist friend, Ernest Lawrence, witnessed the first test of the atomic bomb in the New Mexico desert. An army sergeant, standing near by, seeing this stupendous exhibition of atomic fire developing in the distance, exclaimed, "Good Lord, it's gotten away from the long hairs."

What is good about this power from the atom? Science has broken into a vast, almost unlimited storehouse of energy and we are presented with opportunities for benefiting mankind to a degree hitherto unimaginable. It has been the use of energy, in its various forms, which has raised mankind from primitive levels to the high standard of living we already enjoy. We see now before us a new highly concentrated form of energy with which we may climb to heights we can only dimly foresee.

It is indeed a new world which has been opened for exploration and development, but that pioneering will be arduous and beset by obstacles requiring the cooperative effort of the best scientific brains, not of one nation alone, but of all the world.

Let us picture, if we can, what this powerful atom might mean to man's productivity and standard of living.

Before the machine age, one man worked at the rate of one-man power, something less than one-tenth horsepower by actual measurement. Today, in American industry, as a whole, there is installed for each workman seven horsepower in machines. These

machines are his slaves and with them he does the work of nearly one hundred men. Think of it—man's productivity with machines has increased nearly one hundred-fold. With them he produces more and receives more of the world's goods.

Let's gear our thinking to the numbers used in describing this power from the atom. The burner on your kitchen range, running one hour, takes about one kilowatt hour. The Twin Cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis, use about a million kilowatt hours each day. The total electric energy used in the United States each day adds up to nearly one billion kilowatt hours.

That's a nice handy unit—all the electric ranges, all the lights, the motors, all the electric energy the country uses in one day is about a billion kilowatt hours.

And the nucleus of the atom contains ten billion kilowatt hours for each pound of matter. It is true that the nucleus of uranium 235 or plutonium used in bombs today, yields only one one-thousandth of this amount. But someday it will yield more and the ultimate is ten billion kilowatt hours for one pound.

Here is the colossus who can work for mankind on a scale that will make the industrial revolution appear a minor milestone on the road of civilization.

Here is more power for the hand of man—for turning the wheels of industry, driving our ships, for heating the homes of our cities, for driving our locomotives.

It is not only in the power field that we may hope for great benefits from nuclear energy, but these new radio-active materials may become a powerful ally in the vital warfare against disease, as Dr. Gustavson has pointed out. Here is every man's radium.

Chemistry, which supplies so many of the necessities of our civilization, may develop new materials and processes from its use. Physics, by its use of electrons—the outer particles of the atom—has given us the X-ray, fluorescent lighting, television, and the radio broadcasting by means of which my voice carries to you tonight.

Surely still greater gifts will come now that science has reached into the atom's heart. Atomic energy is expensive today. It is far cheaper to get heat from coal. There are tremendous technical problems to solve before the peacetime utilization of the power of the atom is possible. But these serious problems are trivial compared to the social, political, and international problems which stand between us and this Utopian vista of power from the atom.

This power is also explosive power and we cannot keep its secret. We have a period of grace of about five years in which to solve this problem of how to live at peace with our neighbors in a world of atomic bombs. If we fail, civilization fails. If we succeed, your children and mine will climb to new heights on the scale of civilization. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Suits. Now, with this background of facts before us, let's turn to the highly controversial areas of this discussion and hear a statement on the affirmative side of tonight's question, "Should We Share the Secret of the Atomic Bomb With Other Nations?" Senator Joseph H. Ball, Republican of Minnesota, speaking. Senator Ball. (*Applause.*)

Senator Ball:

Dr. Suits and Dr. Gustavson have given us a graphic picture, both of the tremendous destructive potential in atomic energy and its great beneficial possibilities for mankind. We, in the world, have only two to five years to devise some way to realize the benefits and control the destructive possibilities.

Responsibility and initiative in finding the solution rests squarely upon the United States. We made the bomb, we used it, we have the production secrets—at least for a few years. What we decide to do with it may save or destroy civilization.

The results of an unqualified negative answer to our question, "Should We Share the Atomic Bomb Secret?" are disclosed in the May-Johnson Bill now pending in Congress. That bill was drafted by the War Department on the assumption that production of atomic energy must remain a closely-guarded national secret. It would create a nine-member commission to control completely all phases of

the production of atomic energy from fundamental research through production and application to both military and industrial purposes.

There are severe penalties up to \$300,000 fines and 30-year jail sentences for the disclosure by anyone of any information prohibited by commission regulations. The commission would control not only the Government's present two-billion dollar investment in this project, but all future activities, public or private, and would do it in absolute secrecy. It would not even be responsible to Congress because the bill would specifically authorize it to withhold information from both Congress and the President.

In other words, we would create a gigantic, supergovernment monopoly which would operate in complete secrecy with authority to make and enforce its own laws to protect its own power. That is a horrible Frankenstein monster for a democracy to create. (*Applause.*)

I am sure Senator Wiley will not like the May-Johnson Bill. But some such procedure is essential if we are determined to keep this whole development a closely-guarded national secret, because a secret shared with 135,000,000 people, or even with 500 members of Congress is no secret at all.

So, we are forced inevitably to this Nazi-Fascist answer of turning complete control of this tremendous discovery over to a handful of individuals. The democratic process requires that the people have knowledge in order to decide

policies intelligently, and we dare not let them have knowledge in this case.

I do not think such a solution will work in America. Even if it did work, it would do the United States more harm than good. Scientific research does not flourish in secrecy. That's why the Middle Ages are known as the Dark Ages, because dissemination of knowledge was taboo.

If we try to strait-jacket our scientists in their search for knowledge, we will find the United States trailing instead of leading the world.

What is a possible democratic solution? I believe that fear, based on ignorance of what other nations are doing or many do in this field, is today the greatest danger of the atomic bomb. Russia is afraid of our intentions. We are fearful of what Russia might do with the bomb if she had it. The only antidote to fear growing out of ignorance is knowledge.

First, let's set up our domestic control of atomic energy so as to leave our scientists completely free to exchange their knowledge both in fundamental research and on its industrial application.

Certainly we would not withhold from the world any beneficial uses which may eventually flow from this terrifying discovery. For the time being, let the injunction of secrecy remain on the purely military application of atomic energy and on that alone.

Second, let's initiate an international conference of both scientists

and politicians to develop machinery for sharing the beneficial results of the discovery and controlling its potential destructive effects. Let's say to Russia, France, and other nations that we are perfectly willing that their scientists see and publish everything we are doing, if they, in turn, will permit our scientists complete freedom to see and publish everything they are doing. (*Applause.*)

Then Russia will know whether or not we are manufacturing a stock pile of atomic bombs, and we will know what Russia is developing in the way of secret weapons. Armed with that knowledge, we at least stand a chance of controlling in time any madman or outlaw nation that shows signs of attempting to pervert this discovery to the destruction of civilization. To do that, we must strengthen the security council of the United Nations, make it more democratic and effective by eliminating the veto power, and then be vigilant to see that it functions. The only authorized stock pile of atomic bombs should be in the hands of a truly international police force controlled by the United Nations Security Council. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Ball. Now, for the view of the other side of the question, we hear from another Republican Senator from the adjoining state of Wisconsin, the Honorable Alexander Wiley. Mr. Wiley. (*Applause.*)

Senator Wiley:

Let's clear the decks. There's no disagreement between my friend Senator Ball and myself as to the turning over of these secrets, once a working, unbreakable world authority has been effectuated among the nations of the earth. But that, Senator Ball, has been the dream of mankind for thousands of years.

We are talking what to do now. How long do you think it will be before the world arrives at that point? We have heard it said tonight there are no secrets. We have heard it said it will take 5 years till they capture those secrets.

Now what are the secrets? One, the scientific research which is necessary prior to the production of the atomic substance; two, the scientific and engineering know-how actually used in producing the substance, and in that there are thousands of secrets; third, the scientific and engineering know-how used directly in the production of the atomic bomb; and fourth, the genius of American manpower which put the research and the know-how to work.

Now, I ask, what foreseeable good would be accomplished by lend-leasing, so to speak, these secrets to one or more of the foreign powers at this time? (*Applause.*)

The possession of the atomic bomb secrets by dictator nations by no stretch of the imagination would head off another war or make for the control of the bomb. It would make for war.

Now here is a seven-point atomic charter:

One, America's genius. American genius has made this miracle of destruction. It has been said here tonight that it will be a minimum of three to five years before our effort, *our* effort, is duplicated. Many other high-ranking authorities, and I speak of the highest, say that our efforts could not be duplicated except in a far longer time and even then probably not without American research, blueprints, and genius. That's part of the secret. If we do not turn over the secrets—and I use the world plurally, secrets—we will have a vast head start with which to forge ahead in atomic research and in which to use our God-given energy and our vision to help make this a world of peace in fact and in spirit.

Two, world competition. Only the efficient functioning of the new League, I believe, can prevent an atomic armament race. If we do give away the secrets, we're simply throwing away our advantage in that armament race. Why not give away all our secrets? If we're going to give away the most crucial of all.

Three, the world's faith in us, and you can't discount that. America is the lighthouse of the world. The world trusts us. She's been set apart for the high purpose of leadership. The world, I say, trusts us, has faith in us, as no other nation is trusted. The world needs no further gesture of good faith from us.

Four, the world's unreadiness. Bear that in mind. The President has said that the atomic bomb is too dangerous to be loosed in a lawless world. The world is still lawless. It is still unready for these secrets. We live in one world geographically, but in many worlds spiritually and politically. Give away the atomic secrets and you create, not world security but world insecurity.

Five, the atom's constructive uses. I say to you the constructive uses of atomic forces are still to be demonstrated. In spite of what has been said here this evening, America would want no monopoly of the constructive use if we were sure it would not be used destructively.

Six, the new League's crucial rule. It would be putting the cart before the horse if we gave the new League the atomic secrets before the United Nations Organization has even begun to function, let alone to prove its adequacy to stop aggression. Three conditions must first be fulfilled: (1) the new League must be adequate in fact and must have an adequate police force; (2) it must have an adequate inspection and intelligence force; and (3) the nations of the earth must back up the League with the will, intent, purpose, and desire for peace and cooperation. Not one of these conditions has as yet been fulfilled though we have hopes for the future.

Seven, it would be courting national disaster for America and chaos for the world if we were to reveal these secrets now. One

wrong move might well be irretrievable. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Wiley. Now, gentlemen, if you will join me up here around the microphone we'll have a little discussion among ourselves before we turn this question period over to this stupendous audience of about 10,000 people.

Senator Wiley, I think you had a question there for Senator Ball, did you not?

Senator Wiley: Senator, would you be in favor of giving away the atomic secrets without first making sure that other countries afforded us free access to information on the development of the atomic bomb including inspection of all plants?

Mr. Ball: No, I don't think we should give it away without some assurances. I think we have a great bargaining power which we can use to strengthen international organization and to encourage a completely free interchange of scientific knowledge. We have it for three to five years. If we use it courageously and vigorously, I think we can build an international control that can prevent a secret armament race in these terrible weapons which, in my opinion, can end only in another great war which will completely destroy our civilization. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator. Have you a question, possibly, for Senator Wiley?

Senator Ball: Well, I would ask the Senator just how soon he

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

REUBEN GILBERT GUSTAVSON — Since July 1, Dr. Gustavson has been vice president of the University of Chicago. Immediately prior to that time he was president of the University of Colorado.

Born in Denver, Colorado, in 1892, Dr. Gustavson received his A.B. and A.M. degrees from the University of Denver and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. After three years as teacher of chemistry at Colorado Agricultural College he went to the University of Denver. Here he served as assistant professor, associate professor, and professor of chemistry until 1937. From 1937 until his move to Chicago he was professor of chemistry and chairman of the chemistry department. Since 1942 he had been dean of the graduate school, and since September, 1943, had been acting president. Dr. Gustavson is a member of many organizations interested in science and research. He is a contributor to several scientific publications.

CHAUNCEY GUY SUITS—Director of research and vice president of the General Electric Company, Dr. Suits is one of the country's outstanding young scientists. He was born in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, in 1905. He has an A.B. degree from the University of Wisconsin, and a D. Sc. from the National Technische Hochschule in Zurich, Switzerland. For one year he was a physics consultant for the U. S. Forest Products Laboratory at Madison, Wisconsin. In 1930, he joined the General Electric Company as a physicist in the research laboratory. In 1940, he became assistant to the director of the laboratory, and is now director.

Dr. Suits was a member of the National Defense Research Committee. In 1937, he

received the Eta Kappa Nu award as the outstanding young electrical engineer of the year. In 1941, he was named one of the outstanding young men of America by *Biographical Dictionary of America's Young Men*. He is a contributor to scientific journals and has numerous scientific achievements and inventions to his credit.

JOSEPH H. BALL—Senator Ball, Republican, who was appointed United States Senator from Minnesota in October, 1940, to fill the unexpired term of the late Ernest Lundeen, is now serving for the term ending in 1949. Born in Crookston, Minnesota, in 1905, Senator Ball attended the Antioch College and the University of Minnesota. He has been a reporter for the *Minneapolis Journal* and the *St. Louis Pioneer Press*. He went to the latter paper in 1929 and from 1934 until 1940 was state political writer.

ALEXANDER WILEY — Republican from Wisconsin, Senator Wiley is serving his first term in the United States Senate. He was born in Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, in 1884. He was a student at Augsburg College in Minneapolis, Minn., from 1902 to 1904; at the University of Michigan Law School from 1904 to 1906; and received his LL.B. from the University of Wisconsin in 1907. In 1907, he was admitted to the Wisconsin bar and has since practiced in Chippewa Falls. From 1909 to 1915 he was district attorney for Chippewa County. In 1938, he was elected to the Senate.

Senator Wiley owns and operates a farm, and is a former director of the First National Bank at Chippewa Falls.

thinks, if we don't do something about it—after all, the leadership is ours; we made the bomb—if we don't do something about it, much more vigorously than we are doing today, how soon does he think we'll have an international organization that we can turn this control over to?

Senator Wiley: I am sure I can't let the Senator put words into my mouth. I am sure I outlined definitely three points that the new League must be adequate in

fact. I said also that we must do the job we are called on for leadership. We've got to use all the vision and God-given strength that is ours to try to get these other peoples to come down to earth and deal on a basis that is fair and equitable. But have we any indication of that in the world today? Did you hear President Truman on Tuesday last? He told us definitely that the world was filled with potential fires and the only question was the kind of a fire

department that we should get.
(Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Gustavson?

Mr. Gustavson: America today has the trigger jitters because we have the atomic bomb not possessed by other people. While England, today, is mobilizing her industrial strength and finances to exploit atomic energy for the benefit of her people and mankind, we are sitting here wondering what to do with an explosive. Let's put the explosive in the hands of the United Nations and go to work for mankind.

Mr. Denny: All right, Senator Wiley.

Senator Wiley: I again say we have no objection to putting the secret into the hands of the United Nations when and if the new League, so-called, shows that it is adequate. But with the veto power in the hands of any one nation, and with no police force, and apparently without any thought as to where we are going among the big boys, I say we can't afford to dissipate this great, dangerous instrumentality throughout the world at this time.

Mr. Denny: All right. Dr. Suits has a question.

Dr. Suits: I'd like to ask Senator Ball if he feels that the present United Nations setup is an adequate one to deal with this question, or do we have to start all over and really build up a new organization fully cognizant of the problem atomic power brings with it?

Mr. Denny: A \$120 question.

Senator Ball: I think it would be futile to throw away what we have built at such tremendous effort. I do think it should be and must be strengthened to do adequately the job ahead. I would suggest to Senator Wiley that perhaps the United States Senate, which will have the final say on any treaty, might pass another resolution getting a little more specific about getting rid of this veto power and creating a real international police force, which I agree is the only thing that can be trusted with this stock pile of atomic bombs. Maybe if we took the lead and said, "We think this is the only answer that will save civilization," we might find the Russians not quite so suspicious, not quite so isolationist.

Mr. Denny: Senator Wiley?

Senator Wiley: I think that we have had about 15 years of legislation and resolving, as someone said. We can't get anywhere that way. Until the spirit of the Lowly Nazarene comes into the hearts of men, until that time comes, you won't by resolution get rid of war.

Dr. Gustavson: Senator Ball, I have one more rather difficult question. Suppose a United Nations Organization, or something successor to it, sets up a police force for the purposes that have been outlined, where would you keep this stock pile of bombs that the police force would use?

Mr. Denny: Senator Ball?

Senator Ball: Well, I think a very good place would be the

island of Okinawa in the Pacific. They should be under international control in any event. I would suggest to Senator Wiley that if we are going to wait until the millenium arrives to tackle a solution of this problem, God help mankind. (*Applause.*) We've got to step out and do a job. We pass laws against murder, but they don't prevent all murder. They at least bring it under control. That's what we can hope to do with this. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: All right, Senator Wiley.

Senator Wiley: I didn't suggest that we wait until the millenium. I suggest we get busy and make the millenium now. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Dr. Gustavson?

Dr. Gustavson: Senator Wiley refers to the Sacred Book. As I recall, there is something in there that says "they who live by the sword shall perish by the sword." (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: We've almost got into the realm of religion here, but I think before you start quoting the Bible back and forth, we

better pause briefly for station identification.

Announcer. You are listening to Senators Joseph H. Ball and Alexander Wiley, and Scientists C. C. Suits and Reuben G. Gustavson discuss both sides of a vital topic, "Should We Share the Secret of the Atomic Bomb With Any Other Nation?" This discussion is presented by America's Town Meeting under the sponsorship of *The Reader's Digest*, most widely read of all magazines.

For Christmas this year, send your friends the gift you know they'll enjoy—a whole year of *The Reader's Digest*. A Christmas gift subscription is only \$2.75. Additional gifts are only \$2.25. You can send *The Digest* to either servicemen or ex-servicemen for only \$1.50, and you need pay nothing until next year. Why not solve your Christmas shopping problem in a few minutes right now with the gift that comes 12 times a year. Just send your gift subscription orders to Department O, *The Reader's Digest*, Pleasantville, New York, and pay next year. And now, Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Now, before we take the questions from this representative Minnesota audience, I have the distinct honor of standing here in a very enviable position—between the Mayors of the Twin Cities. The Honorable John J. McDonough of St. Paul (*applause*) and the Honorable Hubert Hum-

phrey, Mayor of Minneapolis. (*Applause.*)

We had a great time in this city yesterday over here on the St. Paul side. Mayor Humphrey came over to the presentation of a great gift to the Mayor of St. Paul. It wasn't a new automobile. It wasn't a new airplane. It wasn't even an atomic

bomb. It was something much more to the Mayor's liking. It was a horse (*laughter and applause*), and the horse's name is Wildfire. This town has had a wonderful time, and the Mayor of Minneapolis gave him a saddle to ride on.

Now, listen, you boys have gotten together very nicely and I'd like to see you shake hands and then ask questions of these two speakers, Senator Ball and Senator Wiley. Mayor McDonough will you start the ball rolling?

Mayor McDonough: I noticed Senator Wiley made the statement that, until the international organization sets up a police force, we should not give them this information. I thought, and I'll ask him if it isn't true, that there is provision for an international police force under the present international agreement as ratified by the Senate.

Mr. Denny: That's a question from the Mayor on horseback, Senator Wiley.

Mayor McDonough: Giddap, Senator Wiley, from the Mayor. (*Laughter.*)

Senator Wiley: I think that the ultimate purpose is outlined in the San Francisco Charter. The ultimate purpose is that we should work out some kind of a police force. But mind you, we haven't been able to get into some of these countries that were Axis countries or into Russia to find out what is going on. In other words, without particularizing in relation to any one nation, we haven't been able

to agree on anything since as evidenced by the London Conference. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: All right, sir, Senator Wiley. Now, the Mayor who presented the saddle. Here's a man who talks very much like—when you hear his voice I know you'll think it's Walter Judd. He's from Walter Judd's hometown, Mayor Hubert Humphrey. Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis.

Mayor Humphrey: Well, Mr. Denny, I'm impressed by the fact that while the rest of the world is talking about atomic power, over in St. Paul they're talking about horsepower. So, I'd like to ask Senator Ball, who is from the city of St. Paul, this question. In view of the fact that a large number of the scientists that were working on atomic power were in Germany and, possibly, some are now in Russia, is it not imperative that atomic power and atomic energy be controlled by an international United Nations Commission?

Mr. Denny: Senator Ball?

Senator Ball: I think absolutely it is. Germany was very nearly as far along as we in developing atomic energy. Russia has been working on it, our scientists estimated, for two to five years. For all we know, Russia may have the bomb tomorrow, or they may have it in six months.

Mr. Denny: All right. Gentlemen, are you satisfied? We'll let the people ask the questions now. All right. Thank you, very much. Now, let's have questions from this audience of some ten thousand

people. We'll start a question from the gentleman right here on the front row.

Man: What do you think about the possibilities for adequate defense against the atomic bomb?

Mr. Denny: Dr. Suits. What about the possibilities of adequate defense against the atomic bomb?

Dr. Suits: I do not feel very optimistic about the possibility of adequate defense against the atomic bomb. As far as anyone knows today, there is no countermeasure in the ordinary sense. The suggestion has been made that if all our cities are dispersed and decentralized, if all our industry is dispersed and decentralized, the country will be less vulnerable to such attack. That is the only thing that could have been called a countermeasure.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Would Dr. Gustavson care to comment on that question so we'll have the comment of two scientists on it?

Dr. Gustavson: I agree.

Mr. Denny: You agree. All right. The Number 1. Yes?

Man: Dr. Gustavson. Is it possible for us to defend ourselves against the destructive force of the atomic bomb by building our cities and homes and factories underground?

Mr. Denny: Could we emulate the moles and be safe? That's another way of asking that question.

Dr. Gustavson: I don't think so, because we're only at the beginning of the construction of atomic bombs.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady there. Yes?

Lady: Senator Wiley. Politicians have failed in their efforts to maintain the peace. Why not leave the decision of this important matter to an international committee of scientists?

Mr. Denny: There you are, Senator. She said the politicians have always failed. Why not leave it to the scientists? (*Laughter and applause.*) We ought to explain that you were a lawyer before you were a politician.

Senator Wiley: I'll have to disagree first with the conclusion in the statement that the politicians have failed. I say definitely that the peoples of the earth, themselves, have failed. I'm agreeable to the proposition that the best brains, scientific, statesmen brains, and also religious brains get into this picture and see if we can get to the point where we can agree and keep the faith and not have another Kellogg-Briand Pact. You remember that. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, this gentleman here.

Man: Should we not rush the development of the atomic energy for peacetime use, but prevent the private monopoly of its use?

Mr. Denny: Are you one of the educators? Well, you remember I said first to state the name of the person to whom your question is directed. We don't know who you are talking to unless you mention it.

Man: Senator Ball.

Mr. Denny: Senator Ball. Well, all right. Senator, there you are.

Senator Ball: We certainly should, I think, devote our very widespread research to the development of the industrial uses of atomic energy. I think it must by its nature be a government monopoly, but I don't think you can operate that kind of a monopoly in secret.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now, from one of the younger generation here Yes?

Man: Senator Wiley. Why not give the secret away and create a race to find peacetime uses rather than wartime uses for atomic energy?

Senator Wiley: I don't think that giving the secret away, as you call it, at this time is conducive to anything else except bringing chaos to a world that's pretty chaotic. I'm certainly in favor of the utilization of this power, once we know whether it can be used constructively to protect our own national interests and then give that to the world as we've always done. We've been on the giving list in this world. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman right over here.

Man: Senator Ball. In view of the repudiation of Russia of the Potsdam Conference in regard to the Balkan States, do you think we could take Russia's word to share scientific knowledge?

Mr. Denny: That's a hot one he pitched to you, Senator.

Senator Ball: I think Russia would disagree completely that she

had repudiated the Potsdam agreement. They differed with us on the interpretation of that agreement. But I would say this about Russia—that if Russia agrees to give our scientists complete freedom to move about and see anything they want to see in Russia, then I think we'll know that they're cooperating and it's a free interchange.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. I refer you to last week's Town Meeting, too, if you missed it. The young man way over there in the balcony with that nice woodsman's shirt on. Yes?

Man: Professor Gustavson. Will the American scientists within the next six months be able to erect an adequate defense against the atomic bomb?

Mr. Denny: That question has already been dealt with. The question was "In the next six months can the scientists in America create an adequate defense against the atomic bomb?" The answer to that was "No," I think. Yes? We'll take another young man down here. Yes?

Man: Senator Wiley. How can the United Nations League prove itself to other nations if they are as backward as we are about trying it?

Mr. Denny: How can the other United Nations prove the effectiveness of the League if they are as backward as we are about trying it?

Senator Wiley: I think that's a double-barreled question. I want to say that I believe that the answer to this is in consultation. I

believe that the nations of the earth should get around the table, in spite of what happened in London. I think that Russia and America can get along together, but I can't see where giving away the bomb to any other nation will make for us getting along any better when they know we won't use it against them. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The young man back there, yes, with question No. 2. Yes?

Man: Dr. Suits.

Mr. Denny: We'll take the young man down here. We can't hear you. I'm sorry. The microphone doesn't reach back that far.

Man: Senator Ball. If we give the secret to U. S. industry, would industry not guard this secret for its own economic gains as well as the Government could?

Mr. Denny: Trust these young men to ask these tough questions.

Senator Ball: I think they might try to. I doubt if they could hold this knowledge secret too long. Industrial processes have a habit of becoming known pretty quickly. Scientists can break down a product and figure out how it was made.

Dr. Denny: Dr. Suits, would you care to comment on that, as a representative of General Electric here, tonight?

Dr. Suits: I think I'll agree with Senator Ball.

Mr. Denny: All right. He agrees with the conclusion. All right. Now, the young man right there with the No. 2. Yes?

Man: Dr. Suits. How soon can the atomic power be put to help us, not destroy us?

Mr. Denny: How soon can atomic power be put to helpful uses and not destroy us?

Dr. Suits: The answer to that question involves some of the points that were brought up, particularly by Senator Ball. How soon this atomic power can be put to good use depends upon how scientists and engineers are allowed to work on this problem. If that work can go ahead without the difficulties and impedimenta associated with secrecy, one may expect that within relatively few years some such uses may appear. If the work must go ahead in secrecy, it will be a relatively long period.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Senator Ball, did you have a comment?

Senator Ball: I merely wanted to comment on the statement that's been made here repeatedly that no nation is afraid of us and that everybody's convinced that we will never use the atomic bomb aggressively. I think that in view of the announced plans of this country to hold and fortify bases a few hundred miles from Russia and China and 7,000 miles from our own western coast, that statement may be seriously questioned. I think furthermore, that if we knew that Canada had the plants to manufacture atomic bombs, and we didn't have it, we'd have the jitters, even though we have been friendly with Canada for a century and a half. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The young lady there. Yes?

Lady: Senator Wiley. Could you tell us how we can inspire confidence as a peace-loving nation while we boast of the largest Navy in the world and jealously guard the most destructive weapon?

Mr. Denny: How can we inspire confidence while we boast the largest peacetime Navy and the most destructive weapon?

Senator Wiley: I think the smaller nations have a pretty good grasp on the world situation. If you'll substitute the word atomic bomb for the Navy, you will know that we have not been, for practically through our history, what might be called an aggressor nation. We've been precipitated into two world wars. They know we are the only power in the world capable of maintaining the peace if we put our hands to it.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman here.

Man: As a peace-loving nation, not an aggressive nation, why should the other nations demand our secrets?

Mr. Denny: As a peace-loving nation, and not an aggressor nation, why should other nations demand our secrets? Have they?

Man: No, but they are demanding it. Russia is.

Mr. Denny: Is Russia demanding it?

Man: They want it, don't they?

Mr. Denny: Well, I don't know. You made the statement.

Man: Well, that's the question.

Mr. Denny: Oh well, that's—

Senator Ball: No, there has been no demand by Russia. But I think that no matter how good an individual's record in the past had been, if he was your next-door neighbor and was sitting out on his front porch with a machine gun pointed in your direction, you'd be a little worried about his future intentions. Furthermore, we haven't a perfect record. The war with Mexico was certainly an aggressive war in every sense of the word. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. How about the sergeant here? Yes?

Sergeant: Senator Wiley. Some time ago you advocated a federal department of peace. Do you think that such a department would help the controlling of atomic energy and developing a workable, unbreakable international committee?

Senator Wiley: I'm very happy that the gentleman has brought up the resolution I introduced in the Senate which was that we create a department of peace with the man at the head of it having Cabinet rank. He would do the thing I'm talking about. He and his group would work on those forces that make for peace. He would not be like the Secretary of War or the Secretary of Navy, whose only object is defense. He would wage an aggressive spiritual fight to capture the minds of the world.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Wiley. Now in a few moments you're going to hear Senator Wiley and Senator Ball summarize for the affirmative and the neg-

ative. In the meantime, here's Max Henderson to tell you about a Town Meeting broadcast where the authorities will be high school boys and girls in their teens.

Max Henderson: A recent article in *The Reader's Digest* reported the intelligent interest high school students take in public affairs. Next March 14, Town Meeting listeners will have another glimpse of young citizenship in action when eight high school students will play important roles in a Town Meeting to be broadcast from St. Louis, Missouri.

Any high school in the nation may nominate a student for participation in this broadcast. Each school may choose its candidate in any manner it thinks best. The school principal or a teacher must act as sponsor of the school's nominee.

Entry rules can be obtained by writing to the editor of the school magazine, *Our Times*, 400 South Front Street, Columbus, Ohio. That's *Our Times*, 400 South Front Street, Columbus, Ohio.

Our Times and Town Hall will select 40 semifinalists on the basis of speeches prepared by contestants. As a part of the final selection, each semifinalist will make a recording at a local station. This recording together with the speech and the student's record will be considered in selecting eight finalists who will make the trip to St. Louis. The boys and girls selected will have all expenses paid from the time they leave home until they return.

On the day before the broadcast, Mr. Denny will select the four speakers for the broadcast. The other four will be alternates and will take part in the question period.

Urge your school now to give its pupils practice in discussion of current affairs. This experience may help a student from your town to win a place on the Fourth Annual Junior Town Meeting Broadcast. Now, for the summaries of tonight's discussion, *The Reader's Digest* returns you to Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Senator Wiley, will you summarize for the negative side of tonight's question?

Senator Wiley: We believe that no foreseeable good will be accomplished by America revealing the secrets of the atomic bomb at this time. Instead, we believe that irreparable harm will be done by hasty action at this time. It has been contended that America's miraculous production efforts on the bomb can be duplicated by foreign powers. This contention, I repeat, discounts the role of American genius.

Two, it has been contended that for America not to reveal this secret is to display poor faith of the world. This contention discounts American good faith since the Mexican war. Most nations would prefer that America would be the sole custodian. There's no proof that anyone even has asked for it.

Three, it has been contended that they'll be an atomic armament race unless we reveal the

secret. There's going to be a race with other nations having it or not having it, unless the new League can do its stuff.

Four, it has been contended that failure to give away the secret shows the lack of cooperation on a high level. The imponderables of the future and the world crises of the present are such that you cannot ignore the lack of cooperation manifested by others. It has been contended that not to reveal the secret now is to encourage world insecurity. We say to give away the secret now will be to encourage insecurity.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Wiley. Now Senator Ball for the affirmative please. (*Applause.*)

Senator Ball: The only secret that we have is how to produce the atomic bomb. We have it for only three to five years. Let's use that secret and our proposal to share it with the whole world as leverage to build, on the foundation of the United Nations, a truly democratic, strong international organization to which we and the whole world can trust the control of this weapon, which, unless it's controlled, inevitably will blow our civilization off the earth. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Ball. I'm sure we haven't heard the last of this question and you're likely to hear other

programs on this subject on America's Town Meeting.

Next week in view of the coming highly important labor-management conference which convenes in Washington November 5, we've invited the outstanding leaders of this conference to discuss the question, "How Can We Find a Way to Industrial Peace?" Ira Mosher, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, and Philip Murray, President of the CIO, have accepted as of this hour. We expect to receive acceptance from the other two. You can guess who they are—Leon Henderson and Henry J. Taylor will carry the burden of the controversy.

The following week, November 8, we'll tackle another perplexing problem involving one of the storm centers of the world—the Near East. Our subject will be, "Should We Support the Establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine Now?" Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York City and Rabbi Morris Lazaron of Baltimore will take opposite sides of this question as will also the journalists, Edgar Ansell Mowrer of New York City and Carroll Binder of the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

Announcer: So listen next week and every week when *The Reader's Digest* brings you Town Meeting. (*Applause.*)

TOWN MEETING PREVIEW

Should We Support the Establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine Now?

By CHARLES E. MARTZ

The subject outlined in this preview is to our best knowledge the one which will be used on Town Meeting of the Air Thursday evening, November 8, 1945. However, in view of the rapidity of wartime developments there is always a possibility that another topic which seems more urgent may be submitted.

The question of a Jewish homeland in Palestine—or somewhere else—is of extreme urgency because of the serious plight of hundreds of thousand of Jews in Central Europe. If anything is to be done for these Jews, it must be done now. The only controversial questions in this topic have to do with the wisdom of the project in Palestine, the relative position of Zionists and Arabs, and the place of the United States in the matter. The “now” is clear.

The story of Palestine since the famous Balfour Declaration is pretty well known. The League of Nations made Palestine a British Mandate, which it still remains. At that time, the British issued two famous documents. One promised the Arabs a self-governing, independent state. The other, the Balfour Declaration, pronounced in favor of a “National Home for the Jewish people.” In this the British promised to use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of the project. This statement was ratified by 51 members of the League. It was ratified by the United States, which claimed a voice in questions arising from the war,

though we refused to join the League.

The British began to carry out the policy. They permitted migration into Palestine. Jewish people throughout the world provided the money to initiate the new settlements. There are now some 600,000 Jews in Palestine, and they have accomplished economic and social wonders.

Then came the next chapter of the story. Arab leadership is intensely opposed to having a Jewish state in Palestine. There have been threats of an Arab war which might spread through the whole Mohammedan world.

In 1939, the British Government was facing a new world war, and the prospect of an Arab war was serious. The Chamberlain government then issued the “White Paper”—an order forbidding further immigration of Jews into Palestine and forbidding further purchases of land by Jews.

The question now is as to whether or not the British should rescind the White Paper and permit vastly increased immigration. President Truman has asked Prime Minister Attlee to permit the movement of 100,000 Jews. It is re-

ported that this request has been denied, but that some relaxing of the ban on immigration is contemplated.

With this background we can grasp the two important aspects of our present question. Should increased Jewish migration into Palestine be permitted and encouraged? Should the United States take a responsibility in the matter?

On the first of these questions there are varying points of view.

Division Among Jews—Zionists hold that the need is overwhelming, that Palestine is an appropriate place for the Jewish homeland for traditional reasons, and because the present settlers have shown that the enterprise can be a success. But the movement is opposed by other Jews who claim that the establishment of a Jewish homeland would break down the great objective of the Jews—to be un-hyphenated citizens of the land in which they live, and that the position of Jews throughout the world will be more difficult.

Jews Against Arabs—Zionists claim that their control of just about 1 per cent of the land of the Arab world could not be construed as injustice to the Arabs, that the Arabs retain the most valuable sections, and that the increase in the Arab population of Palestine after the Jewish arrival shows that the Jewish state is a fine thing for Arab as well as Jew.

The Arabs, on the other hand, resent the taking of what they consider their ancestral lands. They say that the importance of

Palestine, on the coast and at the end of oil pipe lines, is out of proportion to its size. They fear that the small Jewish community will be but a beginning, and that it will expand farther and farther to absorb more Arab lands.

Great Britain and the United States—To date, the interest of our Government has been confined to words. Both political parties spoke out in favor of the Jewish homeland, when they wrote their platforms of 1944. The President has asked the British to make concessions. But, when trouble threatened a few weeks ago, all United States servicemen were ordered out of Palestine.

Our Government is inclined to ask that the provisions of our treaty about Palestine be carried out. Our present Town Meeting question, however, contains the word "support."

The difficult position of the British must be sympathetically considered. The Arab world, with its Mohammedan allies, stretches from the Suez Canal through India.

The Arabs have threatened war through this vast territory. There may be some question about their strength and their ability to wage war. There may be question about their ability to unite on any common project. But the danger is there. Is the United States willing to "support" the establishment of a Jewish homeland to the extent of providing help for Britain in case the Arab world bursts into flames?



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